7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *ṭaḥīni* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *ḥummuṣ biṭḥīni*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghumbaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Weulersse (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *ṭarbuush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *ṭarbuush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbaadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *ṭarbuush* which, however, is not

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291 worn by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a brim (*kirsayte*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an [illegible] selves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *yashmak* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. 547] This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

[296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *shirwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

405 805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

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THE PRESENT

George Hoddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Hoddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Hoddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 146–47.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Mosuil.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Mosuil appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Mosuilis who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject Arab traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is closely conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

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VILLAGERS

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

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Above: Some of the students in the preparatory department of the American University of Beirut, some in native costumes, some in Western clothes. These youths come from various parts of the Arabian peninsula.

Below: Students approaching Rockefeller Hall of the American University of Beirut. This building, erected in 1910, was the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Following P. 456(a)